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his personal friend, Stolypin, and the other one, his master, the Tsar Nicholas II; his second desire was to exculpate himself in the eyes and judgment of posterity. In both cases Iswolsky failed to convince. These two ideas are however closely connected; it is not a mere coincidence at all. He posed all his lifelong, honestly trying to be an enlightened statesman, liberal-minded and amenable to the influence of western political ideas; when friend and foe accused him of taking part in a government so evidently reactionary, it was this accusation that he resented so very much. From a western point of view, Iswolsky was a typical conservative, though preferring a constitutional monarchy, and only the perverted and unnatural Russian conditions of those days made him seem a liberal.

In his first chapters he gives a very true account of the political situation in Russia of those days; the history of the "Björkö" treaty is well known at present; his second chapter does not add anything new in this respect, except the unproved statement that Witte knew about it earlier than he publicly admitted; in general one can say that Iswolsky is not quite fair to Witte, who towered far above him as a statesman.

Chapter V, concerning the Russian nobility, has no connection whatever with the rest of the book; it seems quite naïve and in many points is wrong. The last four chapters, on the contrary, are quite interesting, if one discounts the undeserved and lavish praise of Stolypin. Iswolsky is not right when he attributes the government's failure to establish constitutional principles to the lack of desire to coöperate on the part of the liberals. It was just the other way; the liberals declined to coöperate because they knew very well that that government was insincere and not willing to stand for constitutionalism.

The volume is valuable, however, for the study of the personalities of the tsar's government of those days.

S. A. KORFF.

Must We Fight Japan? By WALTER B. PITKIN. xi, 536 pp. The Century Company, 1921.

The rather lurid title of this book makes one wary of its contents at the outset. One's doubts are not set at rest when it is discovered that the author, an associate professor of philosophy in Columbia University, has not been a specialist in Japanese-American relations or on the Far East, but has broken into the subject from a supposedly unrelated field. Suspicions are aroused

further by the foreword. The author has all the assurance and the enthusiasm of the amateur. Like bachelor uncles on the subject of raising children, he has that air of serene finality which is untroubled by having had to live with one's problem year in and year out. He honestly and somewhat naïvely confesses: "I became interested in the Japanese crisis late in 1919 when I read the current news items, articles, and books about Japan and California in a casual attempt to get my bearings." And yet he has "inspected and in some measure utilized . . . virtually all accessible sources of information and opinion." After his year of study he is sure that "no new gentlemen's agreement will settle anything, neither will the new California law nor the League of Nations nor the China Consortium." "Of the several hundred Californians whom" the author "had the good fortune to quiz, only one impressed" him "as seeing the issue in all its intricacy, and at the same time having a statesmanlike solution ready." (One wonders whether he met Professor Treat of Stanford whose well tempered article on the Japanese in California recently appeared in the *Atlantic*.)

As one goes further into the volume, one's fears are in part set at rest. The book is amateurish and decidedly journalistic in character. It has, however, excellent features which do much toward outweighing these weaknesses. It bears all the ear marks of being the honest attempt of one American to think through a problem which he believes, and rightly believes, to be of vital import to this country and to the world.

The problem is to his mind an economic one. "The world is short of food and clothes. Too many babies are being born in the wrong places, and too few in the right places." It is from the standpoint of the effort of an expanding population to find an outlet that he discusses the question.

He first of all sums up the forces that make for peace and for war between the United States and Japan. He points out some very striking similarities between Japan and the Germany of 1919. In his effort to make his case he has at times overstated it. And there are differences between the two countries of which he is a little unaware or to which he does not give due weight, as for example, Japan's sensitiveness to foreign opinion. He does not, moreover, give due weight to the liberal movement in Japan. On the whole, however, his parallels are provocative of much thought and cannot be dismissed lightly. If he has overstated his case he has still made it in many instances.

He brings out with startling clearness, moreover, the impregnability of both the United States and Japan against enemies from without. This point, especially the impregnability of Japan, the reviewer does not recall having seen stated so clearly or forcibly in any other book. It is, of course, a matter of common knowledge to those who have thought much on the subject that Japan could draw her supplies from Asia, and could probably defy successfully all attacks from the sea. Her only vulnerable point would be the hostility of the peoples of China, Korea, and Siberia and how much this would affect her in a matter of dispute. Similarly no conquest of the west coast of the United States could be effected from across the Pacific. These facts would seemingly make an attack by either power or the other both expensive, futile, and disastrous. No writer has quite so successfully played up these facts as has Professor Pitkin.

The author is convinced that war between the two countries is unlikely, if not indeed impossible, within the next few years. After that, unless remedies are applied in the meantime or unless unforeseen developments supervene we may, he believes, find ourselves at war at almost any time. He maintains that we should use this margin of safety to study the problem and avert the danger.

Professor Pitkin holds that the problem is a broader one than the movement of Japanese to this country, and that it is but one phase of the question of the shifting of populations and of the maintenance of standards of living.

As urgent steps in the settlement of our difficulties with Japan he would have us immediately grant independence to the Philippines to dispel the belief that we are "hypocritically committed to economic imperialism," and enter into a drastic disarmament agreement with Japan and Great Britain. He would have Japan use the sums thus saved to push Japanese colonization in Siberia, Mexico, and South America (one wonders what these countries would think of this suggestion and what our jingo press would say of Japanese emigration to Mexico) and he would have the Japanese force up their urban standards of living. He would further have the United States use the money saved by disarmament to raise "our rural standards of living to the point at which agriculture again becomes both profitable and attractive to the people who maintain the best American standard of living." He would have us, too, put "an abrupt end to virtually all immigration." He would also have us refund credits to European manu-

facturers to prevent complete anarchy there. Finally he would have us turn back our funds saved from armaments to the scientific development of trade and industry in the entire Pacific basin.

If Professor Pitkin's plan could be made to work most of it would be desirable. There is so much unlikelihood of its being adopted in full, however, that we must as a country be content with somewhat less in the immediate future. The early independence of the Philippines ought probably to be granted, and some sort of limitation of naval armaments we must have. These, moreover, we can reasonably hope to see achieved. Whether the Japanese can and ought to be diverted to Latin America and Siberia and whether there is any immediate prospect of this country being induced to adopt so large an agrarian program is, however, very doubtful.

The book concludes with four expert opinions on some problems of policy by Prof. E. T. Williams, the well known authority on China, and by Messrs. Warren S. Thompson, Elwood Mead, and J. J. Holmes.

In spite of its journalistic style, its self-assurance, and a solution which is in part unpracticable, the book is decidedly worth reading. No more fresh and stimulating attempt to get at an unprejudiced solution of Japanese-American relations has appeared in book form in the past eighteen months or two years. It is to be hoped that a good many thousands of Americans will give the book a careful perusal, and that Professor Pitkin will have leisure to continue his studies in the field. We may not agree with all his conclusions, but it is only by numbers of Americans giving themselves to the study of the problem that we can hope to arrive at a feasible solution.

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Modern Constitutional Development in China. By HAROLD M. VINACKE. Princeton University Press. ix. 280 pp.

Professor Vinacke brings to the task of tracing the history of a new political chapter in China a mind that has been trained in the use of historical material; he is also possessed of a simple faith in the doctrine of democracy as a cure for the ills of humanity that is the birthright of every American. This combination of training and temper has produced a volume admirably arranged and plausibly argued but not wholly convincing. There is a general conviction among Western peoples that Democratic institutions must